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marriage, even though actual cases recorded in the three village investigated are only 5 per cent of the total for true siblings and the proportion is declining. Sister exchange marriages were considered best because relations between affines were apt to be the most harmonious and also because no bride price was necessary. As any trouble that occurs in family life is apt to be ascribed to sorcery by affines, it was thought that families founded on sister exchange marriage would be the most likely to prosper in respect of health, stability and economic success.

Furthermore, there is an explicit rule of preferential bilateral cross-cousin marriage. All informants were agreed that the most proper marriage partner is one who is addressed as *simbo* before marriage; Williams defines *simbo* as 'child of the father's sister; children of all *tata*; child of the mother's brother; children of all *nobo*, i.e. cross-cousins' (1930: 109). Out of twenty-two married couples resident in Sivepe, fourteen actually called each other *simbo* before marriage. Williams notes that *simbo* marriages were extremely common in the communities he studies (1930:132), but does not seem to have been told of the preferential rule.

The existence of such a rule can be inferred not only from direct statements, but also from investigation of the primary meaning of the term *simbo* itself. The primary meaning is not cross-cousin and we shall later see that the two terms do not entirely share the same field of reference. *Simbo* is an arrangement of marriage. A *simbo* may be established when a boy's parents bring part of a bridewealth to the parents of a girl they want their son to marry. If the arrangement is acceptable, the parents help in the garden of their son's future affines and continue to send food. Such an arrangement is usually made immediately after the rituals following the girl's first menstruation. If the *simbo* is broken, the girl's parents must pay back the gifts. In a secondary sense, the word *simbo* also refers to that category of consanguines with which betrothals of the kind just described can be properly made. All members of that category are either cross-cousins in the strict sense, or consanguines with whom kinship can be traced neither wholly in the patriline, nor wholly in the matriline.

There are also rules establishing preferential marriage between specific villages. Though Williams did not notice the presence of this rule among the Orokaiva, he described a very similar rule obtaining among the Koiari, where he spoke of 'reciprocating pairs of groups' (1932). Under this arrangement, two local clan groups or exogamous lineages give wives to each other from generation to generation, each side supplying as near as possible an equal number. A group that has received a wife is expected to send one back in the same or the next generation. If the return prestation occurs in the same generation one may speak of sister exchange; if it occurs in the next generation, the rule is expressed by the Orokaiva as *eta data jimbari*, i.e. marrying in the mother's village.

This rule applies especially to girls who are expecting to go to the village from which their mother has been taken, thus balancing accounts between reciprocating pairs of groups. Such a rule cannot properly be described as a prescription for patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, as there is at the same time a preference for sister exchange, so that the total pattern of marriages between reciprocating pairs of groups is ideally (and in fact commonly) bilateral. I found that 35 per cent of Orokaiva marriages now in force were contracted in accordance with the rule of *eta data jimbari*, for a period not less than two generations.

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It is obvious, first of all, that the Orokaiva rules concerning bilateral cross-cousin marriage and reciprocating pairs of groups are not free from ambiguity. The term *simbo* is not synonymous with the term 'cross-cousin'. Not all societies which have reciprocating pairs of groups have direct marriage exchange, as Lévi-Strauss showed in respect of the Koiari. The fact that the Sivepe people were partners in no less than twenty-five reciprocating pairs of groups in two generations poses the question whether this apparent instability corresponds to a structural regularity such as the 'sex affiliation' of the Koiari. Furthermore, in view of Lévi-Strauss' analysis of the African *lobola*, we need to investigate whether the Orokaiva institution of bridewealth (*dorobu*) is consistent with the principle of direct marriage exchange. Such inquiries would not serve to deny the reality of this principle in Orokaiva culture but rather to raise the possibility of the combined presence of direct and generalised exchange.

6. *Kinship Terminology*

Though Williams' description of Orokaiva kinship terminology is generally very accurate, it is deficient in two respects: his definition of the term *simbo* (quoted in section 4 above) is inconsistent with Orokaiva usage and he gives no terms for female speakers. Yet it is in these two areas that we find the key to Orokaiva marriage. We have seen that a *simbo* is – always and exclusively – a marriageable consanguine. If Williams were right in saying that a *simbo* is also – always and exclusively – a cross-cousin, then a rule of bilateral *simbo* marriage would be unambiguously equivalent to a rule of bilateral cross-cousin marriage. If the term *simbo* could be positively defined as a bilateral category of cross-cousins (as the Aranda do), then again we would have a rule of bilateral cross-cousin marriage. In the absence of a positive rule, however, the Orokaiva kinship system could not be regarded as 'elementary' in Lévi-Strauss' sense of the term, and thus it would not contain a true rule of bilateral cross-cousin marriage.

Again where such a rule prevails consistently, there would seem to be no need of special affinal terms. Williams, entirely correctly, gives a set of distinct affinal terms for male speakers which would suggest that the whole system is based on generalised rather than restricted exchange. Williams' explanation of this apparent discrepancy appears to be an evolutionary one: *dorobu* came first (and established the terminology) while *mine* developed later. As we shall see, the reality is more complex, as the Orokaiva use two types of affinal terminology: one type which is consistent with generalised exchange and another which is consistent with direct exchange. The former of these two types of terminology is in regular use by men and the latter by women. This fact is consistent with the theory that the Orokaiva marriage system is a combination of generalised and restricted exchange.

For the purpose of a componential analysis of terms we shall consider only terms used in face-to-face interaction by *ego* to address an *alter* when no other relative is present. The following dimensions of contrast apply:

Consanguine(C): *Ego* traces relationship to *alter* through a chain of linkages based on filiation, or a shared clan name, or common birth in a distant village.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205]

Affine (A): Spouses of consanguines of own and junior generation; co-eval and senior consanguines of those spouses.
Generational Removal: G–O: Same generation as *ego*. G1: One generation removed. G2: Two or more generations removed.
Sex of alter: M: Male; F: Female.
Sex of ego: Em: Male *ego* Ef: Female *ego*
Relative sex of ego and alter: SS: Same sex. OS: opposite sex.
Relative sex in consanguineal linkages; //: Relationship is either wholly agnatic or wholly uterine. X: relationship is neither wholly agnatic nor wholly uterine. It passes through at least one opposite-sex linkage.
Marriageability (same generation only): Ma: Relationship belongs to marriageable category. NMa: Relationship belongs to non-marriageable category.
Relative age of alter: Sr: Older. Yr: Younger.

Using this code, we may define in the following way the kinship terms used in addressing consanguines. The bracketed terms are in the dialects from which Williams' information is drawn.[1]

epe:	M	Sr	G2	C			(Williams: *ahije*)
	M	Sr	G1	X	C		(Williams: *nobo*)
jape:	F	Sr	G2	C			(Williams: *ahije*)
mama:	M	Sr	G1	//	C		
aja:	F	Sr	G1	//	C		
tata:	F	Sr	G1	X	C		
apa:	SS	Sr	G–O	//	C		(Williams: *bitepemi*)
	SS	Sr	G–O	X	NMa	C	(Williams: *simbo*)
eambo:	SS	Jr	G–O	//	C		(Williams: *biteambo*)
	SS	Jr	G–O	X	NMa	C	(Williams: *simbo*)
du:	OS	G–O	//	C			
	OS	G–O	X	NMa	C		
simbo:	G–O	X	Ma	C			
meni:	M	Jr	G1	//	C		(Williams: *mei*)
iai:	F	Jr	G1	//	C		
ahije:	Jr	G1	X	C			
	Jr	G2	C				

This componential analysis, prepared from Orokaiva ideological statements, contains all the ambiguities characteristic of the system itself. Different local clan groups are supposed to use sibling terms in addressing each other. But this is above all a strategic device to emphasise the obligation of mutual political and military support. Extension of the exogamy rule to distant clansmen would logically follow from their classification as siblings, but serve no useful purpose. On the contrary, if local clan groups live at some distance from one another, the bonds between them will wear rather thin unless intermarriage between them actually does occur. In practice, distant local clan groups are not infrequently used as partners in reciprocating pairs of groups. They are then regarded as not 'really' agnates, and terms of address such as *simbo epe*, *tata* are used. Once intermarriage has been instituted such terms are regularly transmitted from one generation to the next.

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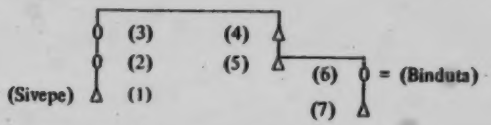
601 Within the village, two different principles prevail according to the presence or absence of a generation difference. Where a generation difference exists, opposite sex linkages are always expressed in terms of address. A mother's brother is always called *epe*. The *epe/ahije* bond is based on mutual affection and voluntary support, whereas the *mama/meni* bond is based on strong mutual obligations and an authority/obedience relationship. On the other hand, collaterals of the same local clan group will never call each other *simbo* even though biologically they may be cross-cousins. They use sibling terms and are strictly bound by exogamy rules. In a multi-clan village, collaterals of different clans will sometimes use sibling, sometimes cross-cousin terminology. Here the criterion is whether the persons concerned shared a plant emblem (*hae*).

582 614 824 A rule that was expressed to me often and forcibly was that people should not marry if they share a paternal or maternal *hae*. The relationship of a person with his *hae* is one of complete identification. If a man says that his *hae* is *sasaha* grass, he means that *sasaha* grass is his 'ancestor' and that he himself *is sasaha* grass; i.e. he is completely identified with it. If two people are identified with the same plant in this way they are siblings; they cannot possibly be anything else.

601 602 In general therefore a *simbo* is someone with whom one does not share a *hae*. This rule obtains whether or not *ego* and *alter* live in the same village. A study of actual kin relationships between *simbo* in different villages bore this out. A typical *simbo* relationship would be between *fafasiso* children/*famobrososo*. The *fafasi's hae* would be transmitted to her son, but not to her son's children. The latter would therefore share no *hae* with the grandmother's natal family. Some *simbo* relationships are far more distant than the one quoted here. A typical example is the following:



Here the *simbo* relationship links families of two villages, Sivepe and Binduta. The genealogical pattern may be accounted for by extremely strong attachment between siblings of opposite sex (*du*), and for the tendency for this strong attachment to be reproduced in the next generation. The genealogical connection between *simbo* often passes between two or more of these *du* linkages. A person thus tends to have numerous *simbo* scattered in many villages with some of which has own village may never have intermarried. Even a limited amount of intermarriage between villages may set up a good number of *simbo* links between them, as the links of filiation and siblingship to which the genealogies refer are often merely classificatory. For instance, the individuals numbered (3) and (4) in the above diagram were not true but classificatory siblings.

It will be noticed that the *simbo* category can be defined only by a series of negative rules. It is a set of distant kinsmen which remains when positively

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defined sets of consanguines have been excluded. Marriage with the *simbo* cannot therefore be regarded as following the principles of an 'elementary' system of kinship. In practice it does not take many generations before the intermarrying groups forming a 'reciprocating pair' are married out, i.e. unable to supply any further partners to each other. In Sivepe, Jegase and Seho, even with only seven current intermarriages out of sixteen households and a reciprocating relationship of less than three generations, seemed to have nearly exhausted all marital possibilities. The difficulties of my interpreter, a bachelor belonging to the Jegase clan, will serve as an example. He was not allowed to marry the girl he loved (Seho clan) because she was a classificatory mother's sister's daughter. But there would have been equally grave obstacles if he had wished to marry into four of the remaining six Seho households, as the girls of these households shared either his father's or his mother's *hae*. The rule prohibiting marriage with a person sharing a paternal or maternal *hae* has an interesting randomising effect that should be briefly discussed. At least forty-two *hae* were used in Sivepe. The persons sharing these *hae* were by no means always close relatives. They might be wives of Sivepe men, and born in a quite different village. Again, some people had many *hae*, four or five was quite common. In these circumstances the Orokaiva rule could never produce a stable system of four or more sections, as any section might at any time adopt a *hae* which would prevent marriage with another section. Furthermore, any portentous event, such as a woman falling to her death from a certain species of tree, would lead to the introduction of a new *hae* which might be adopted by several persons for reasons of sentiment or religious awe rather than the regulation of future marriages. Finally, individuals not infrequently transmitted maternal *hae* to their children, especially if they resided matrilocally or uxorilocally.

We conclude therefore that the rule of marriage with the *simbo* resembles a game of chance in which the odds become progressively more unfavourable, though the rate at which they become worse is itself determined by chance. In practice, therefore, every village played at many tables at once, not only because of ecological circumstances, vicissitudes of war and the need for alliances, but also because the rules of marriage themselves make no other strategy possible.

7. *Sex Affiliation*

It is an understood principle that under a system of restricted exchange the matrimonial destiny of brother and sister lies in the same kinship group whereas under generalised exchange it is different. Williams' data on the Koiari, as analysed by Lévi-Strauss, show that this tribe strongly emphasises difference of matrimonial destiny by the device of giving the brother a paternal and the sister a maternal clan name. Among the Orokaiva the principle of sex affiliation is likewise utilised, though far more feebly, to convey a simple message. The firmest evidence is found in kinship terminology and in the theory of paternity.

For the purpose of componential analysis of terms used in addressing affines, one dimension of contrast must be added to those given in the previous section. We shall distinguish sister exchange and *dorobu* marriages by the following code:

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601 *Min*: Sister exchange marriage. *Dor*: Marriage 'by purchase'. Under this code, we may define the following terms:

1. *Terms principally used for addressing consanguines*:

epe:	Ef	M	Sr	Gl	A
	M	Sr	Gl	A	Min
tata:	Ef	F	Sr	Gl	A
	F	Sr	Gl	A	Min
ahije:	F	Jr	Gl	A	
	Jr	Gl	A	Min	

2. *Exclusively affinal terms*

atovo:	Em	M	Sr	Gl	//	A	Dor	
imbohi:	Em	F	Sr	Gl	A	Dor		(Williams: *imboti*)
behere:	Em	SS	Gl	X	A	Dor		(Williams: *betere*)
dambo:	Em	SS	G–O	//	A			(Williams: *nabori*)
	Em	SS	G–O	X	A			(Williams: *betere*)
hovatu:	OS	G–O	A					
bi:	Ef	SS	G–O	A				
imi:	M	Jr	Gl	A	Dor			

601 602 The fact that a brother and sister, upon marriage, use different types of affinal kinship terms corresponds to a fundamental difference in their social position in relation to their affinal family. The brother, under a *dorobu* marriage contract, remains a perpetual debtor to his affines. He has deprived them of their most precious possession, a nubile daughter, without giving a woman in exchange. Even though he has given bridewealth and done bride service, and continued making prestations of many kinds, these propitiatory offerings do not wipe out the debt. The *imi* must therefore always act with humility and feel shame when he meets his *atovo* and even more, his *imbohi*. His sister, however, is under no such burden in her relations with her own affines. Her position is precisely the same, whether the marriage has been established by *mine* or *dorobu*. Her use of consanguineal terminology expresses her far greater familiarity and identification.

[591] It might be argued that such familiarity and identification is the direct consequence of patrilocal virilocal residence, but such residence arrangements do not always lead to the terminological differences I have described. These differences, however, are consistent with an ideology which emphasises the detachment of women from their natal clans and their close attachment to their mother's village to which they are supposed to move upon marriage.

842 614 Such an ideology is further emphasised by the Orokaiva notions about paternity. Orokaiva believe that a male child is formed in the womb as the result of sexual congress between father and mother, but that a female child is formed by 'the mother sleeping alone'. The male child therefore carries the 'blood' of the father, enabling the child to carry on the father's lineage, but the female child does not. She is still a member of the paternal clan but the connection is evidently viewed as social rather than physiological. Accordingly all females are named by their mother's consanguines, in contrast to males who may be named

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reciprocating pairs of groups in a state of pseudo-commensality. They share not only the land but also its products. The symbolic significance of taro, as set out in that chapter, accords with this theory. Symbolically, taro are children of the marriage of the donors; they are constantly being given away both inside and outside the *simbo* relationship.

On the other hand, the pig belongs essentially to the sphere of *dorobu* marriage, not only because pigs are always sacrificed on such occasions, but because they are the institutionalised means whereby a negative cycle of reciprocity can be made positive.

Again, the coconut-betelnut myth has not merely to do with marriage as the union of two partners or even families, but is a charter for the offering of these nuts on the graves of affines by a large group of survivors who gathered for a mortuary ceremony – a ceremony which often brought together a number of entire villages. The ritual celebrates (as the myth also indicates) the ideal of sister exchange marriage.

This brief summary shows the relationship of objects of mediation to social structure. Social structure, in the sense in which I am using the term, is most clearly articulated in the marriage system, though other systems (e.g. institutionalised hereditary friendship) may also provide important clues to the structure. If the study of objects of mediation provides no more than a manual of some Orokaiva magic, the social structure provides the ultimate rationale of this magic. The structure, as analysed in this chapter, has the objectivity of a mathematical formula. The living fabric of the society has a beauty which we can never ignore and which perhaps forms the *raison d'être* of much of our study. We find this living actuality in the magical processes whereby social relationships are established, maintained and broken. We find it in the pattern of alternation of friendship and enmity, in the unpredictability of the duration of any positive or negative cycle. Barnes (1962) came very close to recognising this pattern when he suggested that the difference between African and New Guinean models may be explained by the New Guinean preoccupation with *killing*. Certainly the Orokaiva world view is greatly preoccupied with killing.

Perhaps this is a price one pays for the orientation towards exchange: one must always be prepared to see a positive cycle of reciprocity break down and a negative one begin, often in a most violent manner. Clearly, the corporate group is not a concept which leads to a full understanding of the basic operation of such a culture. It is for this reason that I have attempted an analysis in which the marriage system is the key to the structure and the institutions arise out of the operation of exchange, structured according to magical formulae which are themselves moulded by the marriage system.

REFERENCES

1. Some discrepancies between Williams' terms and mine may be due to local differences or to cultural changes. It is possible that the modern prevalence of the multi-clan village has led to reduced use of the *simbo* category and to the dropping of the term *behere* between members of the same generation. Culture change may also account for the reduced use of self-reciprocal terms between alternate generations.

614 wider grouping of Jegase clansmen in the neighbourhood, which we
613 describe as the 'dispersed clan branch'. This consists of the reputed descendants of Jegase men said to have once occupied together the settlement Simbehata-Totogata on the territory since associated with the group. It now has its largest single nucleus at Sivepe but includes also the Bebehupa men scattered in other villages, who recently separated from other members of the lineage now at Sivepe.[1]

Several writers have described one order or another of localised patrilineal groups in this census division as lineages (Belshaw 1951:2; Reay 1953:115; Norton 1962:3); in calling the Sivepe groups lineages, we have maintained some consistency with the terminology used for their formal counterparts in the survey at Inonda.[2]

Each lineage in our sample at Sivepe retains a name said to have been transmitted from some remote patrilineal ancestor and each shares a distinctive plant emblem, erahu, associated with its identity as an agnatic group (see Appendix D). Williams (1925:410) notes that the erahu of matrilateral kin is used by householders to mark their distinctive personal identity within their patrilineal group.

The adult male membership of lineages represented in the sample, excluding absentees who have moved from the neighbourhood, ranges from 1 (Arehu lineage) to 9 in the case of the Bebehupa members of the dispersed clan branch. Members of each group trace precise genealogical relationships to one another. All the Bebehupa men with one possible exception can do so. Genealogical memory is short. Ancestry can be traced back to men of the generation of

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[1] We should emphasize that the 'clan branch' and 'dispersed clan branch' are not groups at different levels of a hierarchical lineage structure and that the distinction is a device for discussing the Jegase groups in question.

[2] At Sivepe we found that the use of the term ahije (or haije) was not restricted to reference to the founder of a lineage as at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:17). Any members of Jegase clan are called Jegasetahije and the founder of the clan is also their ahije. Moreover, the term may be used in another sense both to refer to any of ego's male cognatic ancestors or to denote any (or all) of a man's immediate cognatic descendants. Similarly epihe, said by Norton to refer to a lineage seems to be used rather for ego's maternal uncle or grandfather, paternal grandfather, etc., epimane (pl.) being a term for a number of these kinsmen, not for a number of lineages or a clan. Unlike ahije, this term is not used for descending generations too.

A, [See Category 613, p. 110--Analyst]

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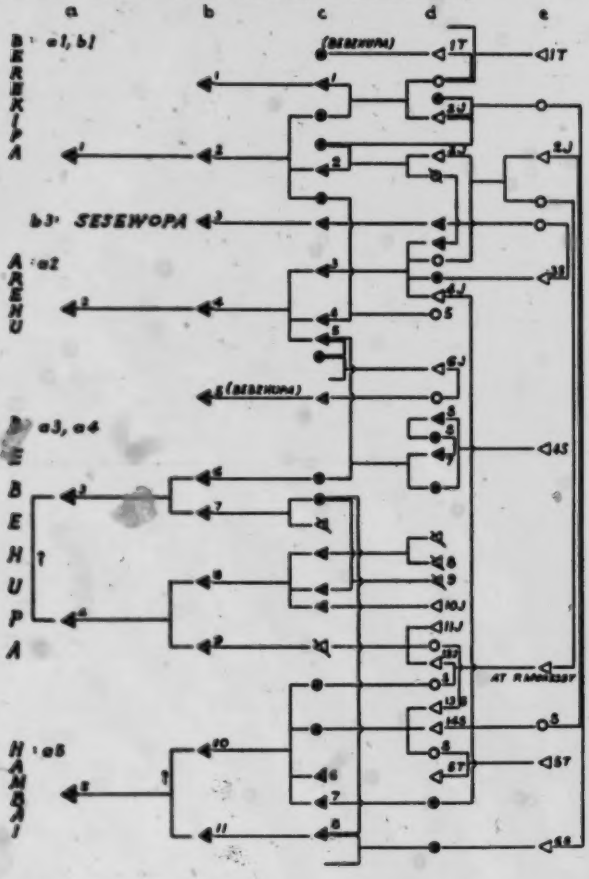
A GENEALOGY OF THE SAMPLE

△ Adult male at Sivepe ○ Female ◀ Deceased ⊘ Resident of nearby village. Significant non-agnatic Kin ties are shown. The numeral and generation of the known ancestor of each Jegase lineage are shown beside the initial of its name. A suffix to numeral identifies Jegase (J) and Timumu (T) householders. Soho members are denoted by S (preceded by a numeral for Sivepe householders)



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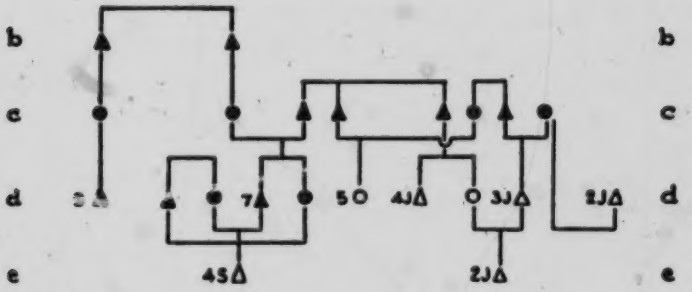
SELECTED GENEALOGY I



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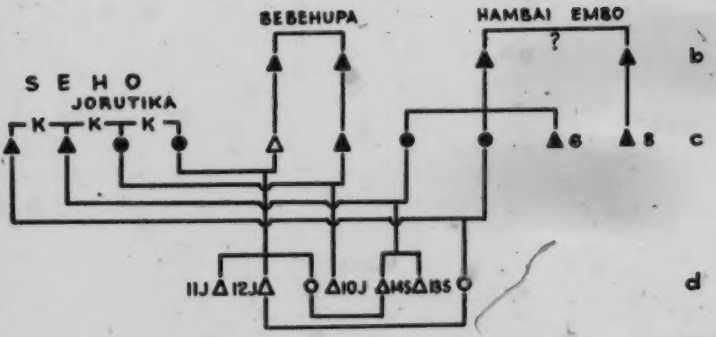
SELECTED GENEALOGY II



437 produce, while the second results in sustained interaction with affines at the probable expense of agnates living elsewhere. The latent obligations to more distant kin are revealed on such occasions as an unexpected visit Palminus received from his father's sister's son following the birth of Palminus' child. His embarrassment at not having previously advised the man of the birth was only compensated by his making an immediate gift of $2.

The facility with which kinship links can be drawn between most, if not all, of the villagers makes it difficult to identify significant, yet mutually exclusive, categories of exchange partners. Exchanges between two individuals might, for example, be variously interpreted as being between neighbours, affines or age-mates. The most important economic connection is between an individual's families of orientation and of procreation, where the two households are located adjacent to each other. Although each maintains separate gardens, between such linked households there is a substantial, if variable, degree of inter-dependence and the network of exchanges may incorporate three generations.

437 Other major exchange relationships operate with affines, matri-
561 lateral and patrilateral kin and are typically restricted to members
[602] of the individual's age group, for example, cross-cousin, wife's brother and sister's husband. Such coeval links also extend to individuals with whom there is no apparent bond of kinship. Traditionally these links may have been restricted to fellow-initiates, who were of both sexes and stood in a defined relationship where
[178] each referred to the others as nanamei.[1] Since the disappearance of initiation ceremonies the connection is now of a more informal nature, reflecting similarity of interests.

437 In effect, regular exchanges operate between members of one's
602 own generation, where partners may be drawn from a wide range of kinship categories and with other generations in the case of primary and secondary kin (see Table 10:18). Other large exchanges which fall outside this pattern are mostly of a specific nature and characterised by immediate reciprocation, as in the case of pigs and sago-making. There is only limited evidence to suggest that the movement of specific goods and services follows distinct patterns, although those relating to the external sector do move almost exclusively between primary kin. However, this fact cannot be considered to indicate a different attitude to the ideal of reciprocation on the part of those having direct access to cash crops and money. Where an individual's family of orientation renders assistance with processing coffee, it is normally without cash crops of its own and where remittances are received from sons,

[601] [1] Meaning 'my children', i.e. 'the children of whom I am one'. See Williams 1930:180.

affiliations has changed. In 1962, when Rimoldi did his survey of the community, not a single Sorovi family had arrived. Moreover, he showed four residences and one bachelor's house as attached to the Timumu clan, a clan name that was not quoted to me. The same families still inhabit Sivepe (except for one old man who died) but they now call themselves Jegase. (This fusion between Jegase and Timumu occurred, to my knowledge, only between the Sivepe local clan groups.) In 1962, Jegase had eight residences and one bachelor's house, so that the overall pattern in these four years has remained much the same except for the fusion of the clans. Bachelors of the enlarged Jegase clan shared one bachelors' house in 1967, seeing that the clans had been joined. The major change between the time of the eruption and 1962 was the migration of three families from Binduta to Sivepe, all classified as Jegase in 1962. Just as it was possible to change the clan name of the entire Timumu group by a simple decision of the two local clan groups, so also it was possible to change the clan name of individuals simply as a way of emphasising common loyalties which developed out of a combination of cognatic links and contingent circumstances. (This pattern is characteristic of New Guinea patrilineal clans in many areas and has been discussed recently in an excellent paper by J. A. Barnes, 1967.)

One striking characteristic of the village layout of New Sivepe is that all the Seho houses are grouped together on the same bende while the other bende of the main village is entirely made up of Jegase houses. Sorovi, the clan which migrated to Sivepe from Garombi shortly before my arrival, has mainly settled along the brow of the hill behind the village, probably partly because that area happens to be owned by a Sorovi man (who continued to live in Garombi), so that in case of a quarrel, nobody could question their right to build on that land. The other houses on the brow of the hill were built by Jegase people who preferred to keep out of the regular two-line system. People often talked about their intention to build all the houses along the two regular lines eventually.

The basic structural feature of New Sivepe was this dualism, expressed in the division between two "sides" each comprising one clan. This kind of village plan has been studied in much detail by Lévi-Strauss under the term "dimmetric structure" (1958: 150). An essential part of this structure is that each side is exogamous but that the two sides intermarry with one another. It is thus in Sivepe where people living along the same side address each other always by consanguineal kin terms whereas people living on the opposite side tend to be addressed by affinal terms, with the obvious exceptions. The reserve and formality observed when people cross the araha to go to the other side is easily explained when it is remembered that on the other side they will meet affines.

It will be noted that this pattern is very much less clearly discernible in Old Sivepe where the two-clan system was not yet worked out. On the other hand, I have found it in several other resettlement

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through the close brother-sister links that endure after marriage and that are expressed through strong links between sister's son and mother's brother. Genealogies are brief, but the Orokaiva classify themselves into supposedly agnatic units by grouping together persons who respect the same plant emblem which is treated as an ancestor. Clans are dispersed, and although local clan groups continue relations after dispersal, they soon begin to intermarry.

In the Orokaiva *philia* system, the distinction consanguine/non-consanguine occurs, but only feebly. Far more important are three cross-cutting categories which may be briefly summarized as follows: 1) the cooperative alliance, centred on sibling and parental bonds; 2) the competitive group exchange system, centred on relations with affines and uterines; 3) the total interdependence relations existing between spouses and cross-cousins.

Previously (Schwimmer, 1970a; 1970b; 1972), I have shown that the Orokaiva kinship universe may be viewed as made up of these three main components. In particular, the symbolization of the conjugal bond does not coincide with either the cooperative or the competitive mode, but is expressed in the symbiosis of plants (such as coconut and areca) which exhibit both binary opposition and total interdependence relationships. The cross-cousin bond has the same components and, at least in ideology, a comparable strength.

In this essay, I shall present data on the friendship universe and show that Orokaiva have institutionalized friendships of several types, some of which are hereditary. I hope to show that each type of friendship corresponds to one of the basic categories of the kin universe. Thus, if my argument is correct, the same categories would hold for the entire *philia* universe of which kinship and friendship would become homomorphous components. Friendship would not have one specific idiom, but a set of idioms which have already been stated in *philia* ideology and symbolized in the religio-philosophic system. Friendship thus becomes a dynamic dimension of kinship. Superficially, it looks like a minor supplement of the kinship system, but it is essential in filling ever-widening lacunae in the kinship system and preventing progressive entropy.

Orokaiva Kin and Friendship Idioms

Between the districts where the data were collected, there are slight differences in dialect (Hohorita in the Sangara district and Sivepe in the Sasembata district), including the way kin and friendship terms are used. The Sangara and Sasembata people are tribe-like groups, hereditary enemies, with seemingly similar social organizations.

Provisionally, it is best to regard the Sangara and Sasembata nomenclatures as variants of the same system. I shall not deal here with intergenerational terminology since it is mainly used in a familial context, whereas

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601 [571] our concern is with the total *philia* universe. Meaningful contacts outside the village tend to be almost wholly with persons of the same generation. I shall therefore discuss the intra-generational terms of reference and address, both in the kin and friendship idioms, and both in the Sangara and Sasembata dialects.

The kinship idiom[7] (discussed in detail in Schwimmer, 1970a) contains four consanguinal and three affinal terms; an oversimplified analysis gives the following meanings (for an explanation of the symbols, see footnote 7):

apa SS Sen G-O //C	*simbo* G-O X C	*dambo* Me SS G-O A
eambo SS Jun G-O // C	*ivu* husband	*hovatu* OS G-O A
du OS G-O // C	*ae* wife	*bi* Fe SS G-O A

602 601 Affinal relations, according to explicit Orokaiva norms, are cold, formal, and distant though polite, and restrained by strict taboos. Affinal terminology always carries the connotation of obligation and avoidance, and it is never suitable for easy informal discourse. Indeed, when a person desires to keep up easy, informal relations with an affine (and this occasionally happens), his only resource is to maintain whatever term of address he used before the marriage.

[171] All the consanguine terms, however, are regularly used in addressing unrelated persons with whom hereditary friendship links exist, at least in the Sasembata district. *Apa* and *eambo* are also used between men in the same context as the Maori use the term *hoa*; that is, informally and without any implication of kinship or permanent relationship. The wife of a fictional *apa* or *eambo* is called *du* (sibling of opposite sex), but never by an affinal term. The fictional *simbo* differs from the fictional sibling with regard to reciprocal rights and obligations, as will be shown below.

572 The following Orokaiva terms are used exclusively in a friendship context: *namei* (Sangara) or *apa/eambo* (Sasembata), designating a male friend of a male speaker in the same generation; *otavo* (Sangara and Sasembata) meaning a partner in trading or dancing, or a journey, or a war expedition – a

7 The following classificatory principles underlie the Orokaiva kinship system:
Consanguine (C): *Ego* traces relationship to *alter* through a chain of linkages based on filiation, or a shared clan name, or common birth in a distant village.
Affine (A): Spouses of consanguines of own and junior generation; co-eval and senior consanguines of those spouses.
Generational Removal: G-O: Same generation as *ego*. G1: One generation removed. G2: Two or more generations removed.
Sex of alter: Me: Male. Fe: Female.
Relative sex of ego and alter: SS: Same Sex. OS: Opposite Sex.
Relative sex in consanguineal linkages: //: Relationship is either wholly agnatic or wholly uterine. X: Relationship is neither wholly agnatic nor wholly uterine. It passes through at least one opposite sex linkage.
Relative age of alter: Sen: Older. Jun: Younger.

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572 less diffuse term than *apa/eambo*; *jao* (Sangara and Sasembata) designating a *namei* type of relationship between women, used commonly between unrelated married women living in the same village.

Friends as a Distinctive Set

601 572 The Orokaiva employ certain collective terms to designate the *philia* universe or distinctive parts of it. Thus, the term *mamahane* (father's people) designates the agnatic group, *epehane* (mother's brother's people) the maternal relatives, *aerihane* (wife's people) the affines, and *japehane* (literally, grandmother's people) the father's mother's group. There is, in addition, a term *nameikamei* which comprises the total *philia* universe including an undefined residue of non-kin as well as all the groups listed above. Although Sasembata do not use the term *namei* (friend), *nameikamei* is heard regularly. In neither locality was a collective term found which exclusively comprised the non-kin in the *philia* universe.

The term *nameikamei* certainly covered, apart from the kinsmen, the (Sangara) *namei* category and the *jao*, terms which are both regularly inherited bilaterally. I cannot say for certain whether the *otavo* and (fictive) *simbo* categories would be included in the *nameikamei* group. These terms may be employed in fairly casual relationships, but in time, persons calling one another *otavo* may decide to use a sibling term, thus making the relationship hereditary.

Statistically, non-kin make up only a small part of the *philia* universe. A man might be able to list several dozen *nameikamei* in villages more than three miles from his home, and non-kin would make up only 20 to 25 percent of such a list. (It should be noted that my statistics are somewhat cursory, as I could never be sure that any informant's list was complete.) Visits from non-kin tend to be made at greater intervals than visits from kin and they last a shorter time. One could safely say that non-kin are, on the whole, on the periphery of the *philia* network, as is the case among the Tangu.

An interesting difference between the two systems is that the hereditary relationship which is between fictive brothers-in-law among the Tangu, is between brothers (*apa/eambo*) among the (Sasembata) Orokaiva. It would be considered not only chilly but frightening for an Orokaiva to call his guest friend *dambo* – affine avoidance being stronger than among the Tangu.

Orokaiva Cooperative Alliances and Reciprocating Partnerships

571 [621] [614] Cooperative alliances tend to vary in size according to the purpose of the alliance. In pre-contact times, the village was a cooperative alliance in warfare and in large feasts, comprising between six to twelve households. For bridewealth and death payments, the alliance comprises the plant emblem group (Williams, 1925; 1930; Schwimmer, 1970a), the nucleus of which approximates a four-generation lineage, although it also has other members.

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(1965) distinction between generalized and balanced reciprocity may be useful. Let us note, however, that the relationship between the fictional *apa/eambo* is one where kin distance is infinite (they are not kinsmen) so that according to Sahlins' model, balanced reciprocity should apply. Instead, the norm is generalized reciprocity, as one gives all one has, be it much or little. The crux of the *apa/eambo* relationship, real or fictional, is that property is pooled and belongs to all members of the group equally. When brothers live together, or when they hold land in common and thus are able to live together, such pooling occurs perpetually. Hereditary friends meet rarely – frequently not even as often as once a year. Thus, their ability to use the pool, or contribute to it, is limited. But the manner of giving emphasizes an ideology that is a pooling relationship. Hence, the return visit is obligatory for the host: the gifts given with the first visit express symbolically a statement by partner A to B: "you are my brother." But for the relationship to persist, B must be able to reply in the same idiom: "you, A, are my brother," and he can make this statement only by presenting gifts in his own village.

The ambiguity is now clear: the hereditary friendship relation is one between partners who act out the role of brothers. It is possible to show this ambiguity on the formal level of kinship terminology by inquiring into the term of reference and address used for the wife of an hereditary friend. By the rules of the kinship system, she should be called *hovatu*, but she is in fact called *du*, as the restraints of the affinal relationship are considered too irksome.

Changes in Group Membership Status

From what has been said above, it is clear that the principle of generalized reciprocity holds with regard to the equivalence of gifts between friends. The mythological charter explicity states that a small gift in times of shortage, is to be deemed equivalent to a large gift in times of abundance. On the other hand, the principle of balanced reciprocity holds concerning the pattern of exchanges, in that every visit is followed by a return visit, at the end of which balance is expected to be achieved.

Let us consider the development of friendship relations. In the course of a lifetime, a person meets many strangers of whom the congenial ones may become *otavo* or fictional *simbo*. He will be especially attracted to a few with whom he establishes a permanent kin-like bond, either on the *apa/eambo* or the *simbo* model. Occasions for such encounters may be feasts between previously hostile groups so that the groups of which the hereditary friends are members may not share the friendly feelings of the individuals who have become *otavo*, *namei*, *jao*, *simbo*, and the like. Thus, inter-community conflicts may come and go and the bond may continue over the generations. Far from this being a betrayal of group loyalties, the friendship

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grasp of certain fundamental psychological principles. For instance, the Orokaiva classification scheme relates the *simbo* kind of friendship symbolically to the marriage bond which, indeed, has the same quality of total interdependence between persons whose consanguineal links are distant, if present at all. Some friendships are indeed of this kind but not all: the Orokaiva system reflects this fact in that some non-kin relationships are classified as *simbo* while others are classified as *apa/eambo*, *otavo*, and so on.

If we cannot distinguish friendship from kinship on the basis of the content (the role attributes) of relationships, it is possible to make a distinction of a formal kind.[10] One characteristic of all friendship relations is that the partners are kept free of ritual avoidances such as those between affines. The wife of a sibling type of friend is given a sibling term of address; the wife of a *simbo* type of friend is herself classified as *simbo*. Another formal characteristic of all these relations is that they are equivalent, but additional to the kinship links of the same type.

The continual threat of warfare and disruptive disputes impels persons to maintain a number of residence and alliance options in many places. Friendships develop especially where the kin universe is inadequate in supplying these options and leaves dangerous gaps in the network; Orokaiva friendship patches the gaps in this network. This seems a humble and subsidiary role indeed. Nonetheless, the existence of a regular mechanism to fill these gaps makes a crucial difference to the nature of the total system. The fact that there is an institutionalized freedom of recruitment of members to each of the *philia* categories opens up the system and gives it a dynamic flexibility. Ascriptive criteria need never fully determine membership groups because a dimension of freedom in recruitment is given by the friendship customs.

This fact offers a useful beginning for an analysis of the relations between Orokaiva and Europeans, as the Orokaiva system had from the beginning certain social concepts which enabled them to fit the Europeans into their scheme of social relations. The fact that they are strangers does not in itself leave them out of social recognition. Time does not permit this line of analysis, but it is worth remarking that in the absence of a friendship category, Orokaiva would not be able to adapt themselves as easily to the modern type of intercourse with other tribes and other races. The Orokaiva never had a truly closed society. They had rules for setting up relations with strangers, and these relations included marriages, as I have shown elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1970a).

If we now turn from the Orokaiva case to more general questions regarding friendship, we may suggest that friendship is best regarded as a residual category within the *philia* universe, in that any *philia* universe must contain a regular process for the recruitment of strangers. Blau (1964) has described the psychological aspect of this process. The present essay has been

10 I am using "form" and "content" in the same sense as Levi-Strauss (1958).